THE WOMAN'S

DREADNOUGHT

Published by the WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

Vol. IV.—No. 13 SATURDAY, JUNE 23rd, 1917 Price One Penny

IRELAND—RELEASE OF SINN FEINERS

INTERVIEW WITH MR. LAURENCE GINNELL, M.P.

Filled with the idea that if anyone knows the truth about the position of things in Ireland to-day, that person is Mr. Ginnell, the Sinn Fein M.P., I called at his villa in Richmond. Surrounded by as much green as he could possibly find in or near London, I found him hard at work. When I explained my object, Mr. Ginnell cordially offered to give me an interview there and then, and since I regard his opinion as of the greatest importance I have recorded his every word verbatim.

"We want THE DREADNOUGHT to throw some light on this present very complicated Irish situation," I began, and Mr. Ginnell, apparently absorbed in this problem and requiring little pressure to talk of what is nearest to his heart, replied:

"I am delighted to be afforded an opportunity of giving you a few notes for your admirable paper, 'THE DREADNOUGHT.'

"It seems to me most appropriate that the first interview I have given for an English paper should be for yours in view of the facts, now historic, that the Proclamation of the Irish Republic in Easter week, 1916, placed women and men on precisely the same level, with no distinction whatever arising through sex. In harmony with that is the decision of the National Irish Assembly, held in the Mansion House, Dublin, on the 19th April, 1917, that women should be eligible equally with men for all positions in the new organisation then founded.

"That is the spirit of the present Irish National movement, and I personally regard it as of the utmost importance, both for the good government of Ireland when ruled by itself and for the immediate purpose of establishing an Irish Government.

"Will you explain a little about this new organisation?" I broke in.

"The new organisation," Mr. Ginnell explained, "has not yet technically assumed a single form. It is being continued temporarily by three bodies—Sinn Fein, the Liberty Organisation, and the Irish Nation League, which have agreed to work side by side pending a Convention that they will be behind."

"Do you think that the amnesty to the Irish prisoners will have a favourable effect on the attitude of the Sinn Feiners to the forthcoming Convention?" I asked, coming to the real object of my visit.

Mr. Ginnell, with a contemptuous laugh, elaborated the point as follows: "A Convention, stated by Mr. Bonar Law to be for the limited purpose of coming to an agreement with reference to administration in Ireland, could not possibly attract Nationalists who have already made up their minds to sever the connection between the two countries and establish Ireland as an independent sovereign State.

"The amnesty, admittedly granted for the purpose of creating a better atmosphere for such a Convention, could not from the Irish standpoint make the Convention itself any more attractive, either to the Irish people or to the prisoners amnestied.

"It would be an insult to the released prisoners to suggest that they could concur in any way in accepting release at the expense of the freedom of their country.

"In any case the Government offers only five seats, in a Convention of 100 members, to a section of the Irish people so vast and powerful that at a general election it could easily secure nine-tenths of the seats now held by nominal Nationalists. Five Sinn Feiners in an assembly of 100 selected by those opposed to us would obviously be powerless.

"Further, it would obviously be inconsistent with our demands for sovereign independence to enter a Convention summoned to deal *only* with administration. It would be an entire breach of principle.

"It would therefore in itself disqualify us for that on which our hopes are now centred, namely, the International Peace Congress.

"Our entering the Convention would be an admission on our part that Irish discontent was a domestic matter. Having made it an international matter by the insurrection of 1916, we are bound to maintain it on that plane. It is only on that plane we demand admittance to the Peace Congress and expect the demand to be conceded."

"Oh, but the shibboleth is that the Ulster people, of course, will never agree to anything like that; what will become of them?" I could not refrain from remarking.

"You must not take me as allowing that the term 'Ulster' is correct," Mr. Ginnell went on. "You mean only North-East Ulster, Unionist Ulster, which is a minority in the whole province, though a majority in four counties and the city of Belfast.

"No subject country has ever in history won its freedom on the unanimous demand of its own people. Many have won freedom while a considerable section was opposed, in some cases a larger section than Unionist Ulster is.

"Furthermore, the ostensible attitude of Unionist Ulster is a result of organisation and leadership, and is not the free and spontaneous opinion of the people.

"Even Unionist Ulster would more readily accept the Home Rule Act on the Statute Book if it were a better Act financially than it is. It is really its defects, particularly on the financial issue, to which business men object.

"Not alone that, but we know from experience that in May, 1916, considerable numbers of Orangemen were quite friendly to the Irish Volunteers, whose arms they took for purposes of concealment, and as soon as danger was passed, honourably returned them to their owners. The Orangemen would not be at all difficult to bring into a National movement for the sovereign independence of Ireland.

"I myself have direct evidence of the willingness of considerable bodies of Orangemen within the Unionist area to arrange for a public address to be given by me, if they can secure its freedom from interruption by ignorant followers of Sir Edward Carson.

"From these facts you will easily gather how it is that my friends and I have no misgivings as regards what the mass of the Ulster people will do when the crisis arrives which it is our business and purpose to create."

"It appears," I said, "that the British Government is determined to go on with the Convention, and I gather from what you have told me that the Convention will be a farce."

Mr. Ginnell chuckled with glee. "Precisely," he said. "The British Government is more anxious about Ireland to-day than we are.

"The British Government is in need of American help and the help of the Dominions, which it cannot obtain cordially without a settlement of Ireland. That fully explains English anxiety and our amusement. England wants to derive all the capital possible out of the Convention without giving Ireland anything substantial. In other words, the Convention is a trap for us. We are not going to be caught.

"We on our part are entitled and determined and have the power to derive all the advantage and capital out of England's present difficult circumstances. It is our duty. It is for Ireland the opportunity of centuries. Ireland is entitled to the best we can do for her on this occasion. We are going to do our best.

"England has been in the past and is to-day Ireland's only enemy. We are going to remember that always, not with a view to revenge, but with a fixed purpose, which would animate the men of any other country on such an occasion, to draw out of the circumstances all the good the British Government can be forced to yield for our country. In short, with us Ireland is first, last, and always the sole consideration. Sinn Fein Amhain. (Ourselves alone)."

To clear up the Sinn Fein attitude, misunderstood by many English Socialists, I asked Mr. Ginnell whether "Sinn Fein Amhain" excluded Internationalism, especially since he hoped for something from the International Peace Congress. He would have convinced the most wavering of doubters when he exclaimed, "It does not clash with Internationalism at all! If we have no country of our own we can have no honest International. I am an Internationalist to the heart. We are unable to help anybody or ourselves until we are free."

M. O'C.

Of Special Interest This Week

GINNELL'S VIEWS ON IRISH CONVENTION

OUR ATTITUDE ON THE "SEPARATE PEACE" SCARE

COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ

Reprints on sale, price 3d. each.

A LEEDS BOYCOTT OF PROFITEERS.

The Leeds Branch of the W.S.F. has formed a committee to organise a boycott to reduce the high prices of various commodities; bacon is to be the first item. The working women of Leeds are to be canvassed, and a large meeting will be organised. Some of the business men and tradesmen have joined the committee. Apply to Mr. Claughton, 5 Quebec Street, for further particulars.

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation

400 OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E.

Telephone EAST 1787.

Annual Subscription: - - Post free, 6s. 6d

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Per inch	0 5 0	Per half-column ...	1 10 0
Per column ...	2 15 0	Per page	5 0 0
		£ s. d.	
	Per half-page ...	4 10 0	

Miscellaneous advertisements 1d. a word, minimum 1s. for twelve words. 5 per cent. reduction on a series of ten or more insertions; 25 per cent. reduction to working class organisations.

AGENTS:

INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 5 Duke Street, Charing Cross, W.C.; ST. BRIDE'S HOUSE, Salisbury Square; Messrs. W. H. SMITH & SONS Strand, W.C.; CITY & SUBURBAN PUBLISHING Co., St. Bride's Churchyard E.C.; Messrs. HORACE MARSHALL & Co., Temple Avenue, E.C.; MARLBOROUGH, 51 Old Bailey, E.C.; A. RITCHIE, Pemberton Row, Gough Square, E.C.; A. & E. HARVEY, 5 Gough Square; SIMPKIN, HAMILTON, MARSHALL & KENT, Paternoster Row, E.C.; A. RAGGETT, Clark Street, Stepney, E.; MAYOR BROS., Green Street, Bethnal Green; JOHN HAYWARD, Manchester; THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY, 10 Johnson Street, Bolton; REFORMERS' BOOK STALL and HERALD LEAGUE, Glasgow.

Can be obtained at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. SMITH & SONS & Messrs. WILLING, and all Newsagents.

All business communications should be sent to the MANAGER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E

Vol. IV. No. 13 Sat., June 23rd, 1917

A SEPARATE PEACE?

"Mr. F. W. Jowett," M.P. . . . said that the position in Russia was such as to make it highly desirable that he and Mr. MacDonald should go to that country. The inevitable result of a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers,' he added, 'would be to release the whole of the German forces on the Eastern front to be thrown against our own and the French forces in the West, and instead of shortening the war it would lengthen it, besides enormously increasing the British and French losses. I should regard it as a great disaster if Russia had to effect a separate peace with Germany. I want it to be clearly understood that we desire an early peace, but it must be a general peace, and not one which, by eliminating one of the Allied forces, places a bigger burden on the rest.'

"Mr. Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, speaking at Glasgow yesterday at a demonstration under the auspices of the local Trades Council, declared that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Jowett knew that unless something was done—and that something could not be done by Mr. Lloyd George himself, even if he went to Russia—there was a serious danger of a peace between Germany and Russia. He dreaded such a thing. If there was a patched-up peace war would break out again in a short time. The peace they wanted was one in which the League of Nations would be established to prevent war in the future."—"Daily News," June 18th.

We rub our eyes! Can these reports be true? From the outbreak of War until Easter of this year Jowett was Chairman of the I.L.P., the Party which has so gallantly championed the conscientious objector, the Party to which the majority of the conscientious objectors belong, the Party which at two successive Annual Conferences has adopted, with tremendous enthusiasm, resolutions declaring against all war. If he is correctly reported, it is amazing that Jowett should have made this statement to the "Daily News," for its entire basis is opposed to the philosophy of the conscientious objector. If it be true that for Russia to draw out of the War is to lengthen the War, and that for Russia to make peace with Germany would be a "disaster"; then they are right who have claimed that the men who go out to fight are the peace-makers, and that the conscientious objectors are shirkers of duty and traitors to the nation's good!

But this is not our view: we hope that it is not the view of Mr. Jowett. We hope that he did not make the statement attributed to him. But the days pass, and he does not contradict it. And Robert Smillie, the Chairman at Leeds, who has so steadfastly championed the workers' cause. Can he have made the statements attributed to him? Can he have spoken of peace between Germany and Russia, peace between any two nations, as a "danger"? Can he have wished to deter the Russians from making a just and good peace because other nations refuse to assent to it? Robert Smillie, the Miners' leader, understands the ethics of the strike: he knows that workers opposed by powerful capitalist forces, have no other means of securing the demands which employers have obstinately refused, save that of preparing themselves, to down tools in the ultimate resort. Robert Smillie is familiar with the position taken up by the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council: he knows that the Council has declared against fighting to secure annexations and indemnities and to readjust ancient territorial grievances which should be settled by the votes of the inhabitant populations concerned. How are the Russian workers and soldiers to enforce that decision? How are they to force it on the capitalist Governments of the Allies, Governments which we know, which Smillie knows, to be fighting for territorial conquest and capitalistic dominance? Surely, the only means by which the Russians can force this policy upon the Allied Governments, the only means by which they have forced their own Government to give at least a verbal adherence to it, is to say: "We will fight for no other policy. Until you accept the 'no annexations: no indemnities' declaration we refuse to fight with you, and unless you continue to make your actions depend upon that policy, we shall make peace on that basis without you!" Having said that, the Russian workers and soldiers must keep their word or reduce their declaration to mere bombastic nonsense (of which, alas, our politics are but too full).

The Governments of the Allies have not yet adopted the "no annexations: no indemnities" policy of the Russians. It therefore seems to us that the revolutionaries who are maintaining a trench truce are merely acting in obedience to their own declaration.

If, having declared for peace on the basis of "no annexations: no indemnities," the Russian Revolutionaries continue fighting beside Allies who refuse to make peace on that basis and are prosecuting Imperialist aims, the revolutionaries would in effect abandon their policy and swamp their identity in that of the capitalist Governments of the Allies.

If British people, however well intentioned, could succeed in persuading the Russians to make this sacrifice of principle, they would destroy, at its birth, the new civilisation now growing up in Russia, and creating a flood-tide of new ideas which shall presently sweep onward across the frontiers to every nation in the world. But we gladly state our belief that Russia is too deeply stirred by the great renaissance for any retrograde outside influence to touch her. Obviously revolutionaries have no intention of swamping their identity, and their call to Socialists and workers to cease regarding the world through capitalist spectacles is very clear. In reply to Henderson, Thomas, and Vandervelde, the British, French, and Belgian ex-Labour representatives, who have placed themselves at the service of their respective capitalist Governments, the Russians say:—

"The Russian revolution, which is a revolt of the people, not only against the tyranny of Tsarism, but also against the horrors of the world-war, the blame for which falls upon international Imperialism, has placed before all countries, with extraordinary acuteness, the urgent need of concluding peace. At the same time, the Russian revolution has indicated to nations the way of realising this problem, notably the union of all the working-classes to combat all the attempts of Imperialism to prolong the war in the interest of the well-to-do classes and to prevent a peace without annexations or indemnities. The working-classes of all countries can easily come to a speedy and solid agreement, but only if they are inspired with their own interests and remove the aspirations of Imperialists and militarists, who often hide their true face under a seductive mask. It is evident that the conference can become a turning-point in the terrible epic of fratricidal war only on condition that the members of the conference are imbued with the above-mentioned ideas . . . The working-classes, relieved of the mutual distrust which Imperialists envenom, will agree as to the means of granting compensation, and the amount of such compensation, to the countries devastated by the war, like Belgium, Poland, Galicia, and Serbia, but it goes without saying that such compensation must have nothing in common with the contribution which is imposed on the conquered country. . . ."

The feeling in this manifesto is not confined to a handful of organisers and speakers,, but undoubtedly is shared by the mass of the Russian people.

Day by day further evidences of this truth come to us. "The Times" reports that because of his Army Order to punish soldiers for refusing to fight, Kerensky has failed to secure election to the Central Committee of his Party. Reuter reports that in the Petrograd municipal elections the Socialist candidates received 507,982 votes, the Maximalist Socialists 117,760 votes, and all the capitalist parties together only 166,309. This augurs well for the Constituent Assembly: it shows that progress in Russia has come to stay. Fancy, if such a municipal vote had been cast in London! Imagine our joy: imagine our surprised excitement!

It is well we should realise, in all humility, that we have little to teach and much to learn from the Russian movement. The Russians have demonstrated to the world that the solidarity of the common people can accomplish more than the armies and navies of mighty Empires. The workers by laying down their tools, the soldiers by fraternising with the workers, accomplished a defeat of the Czardom which was not possible to Napoleon at the beginning of the century, to England and France in the 'fifties, or to the Central Empires in this War. The Russian Revolution has demonstrated that the workers can win complete emancipation by the universal strike; the War has shown that modern warfare is so costly and also so slow and cumbrous and hideously dehumanising that the strike is the only revolutionary weapon which the workers can hope to use successfully. The Russian soldiers, proclaiming a truce in the trenches, have risen above the hypnotic fear and horror of the battle, to realisation that they and their fellows in the opposite lines are men with rights: who are allowing themselves to be used as tools, and that they can make peace where they are: by refusing to fight. A moral courage, unfortunately rare today, is needed to come to this realisation, so rare do we find it here, that not only have British soldiers failed to take in large numbers the plunge into the unknown which the Russians have taken, but few, oh, far too few, of those who are known as protagonists in the fields of politics and ethics have to-day either the courage or the breadth of vision to approve the return of the Russian soldiers to human sanity.

In an East End street a poor Russian woman spoke to us of the truce with radiant face: she prays that it will be maintained. She prays that Russia will make peace: a general peace, if that is possible, but a separate peace if the Allies refuse to join her. Yet this woman has every reason to fear a separate peace for her own sake. She is by birth a Russian; her husband is a German, and already she has suffered much on his account. He was imprisoned for six months for keeping pigeons without a permit, though he had informed the authorities at the time of his registration that he had these pigeons and was not told to procure a permit, and though the unfortunate birds were never allowed to leave their cage. From prison he was taken straight to Knockaloe, Isle of Man, without being allowed to return home to say good-bye. The wife was left behind with six children, the two eldest, lads in their teens, not earning enough to maintain themselves. She was near the time of her confinement when the anti-German rioters swept up her street. At night a few of the adult ringleaders smashed the windows and burst in her door, leaving her to face an excited mob of men, women, and children, who believed that she must have explosives or spies concealed upon the premises, for, otherwise, why had she been attacked? When Conscription came, the eldest son was forced into the British Army, though his father is still interned. There are no ethics in warfare!

Hall Caine, who once wrote "The Lord's Prayer for Working Men," and desired to interpret the doctrine of Christ to the people, now strives in newspaper articles to play on the passions of the poor mothers whose little ones have been killed in the air raids. He tells them that they must demand reprisals against the innocent children of German mothers. Dear mothers, remember that in every country munition factories are closely surrounded by the homes of working people, and that when the bombs are dropped from the sky they frequently fall, not on the factory, but on the workers' houses near by. Even when the bombs actually fall on the factory they kill the workers employed there—husbands, sons, daughters of women like yourselves—and if the bomb causes an explosion in the factory the homes of the workers are destroyed and the mothers and children living there are killed. Reprisals, dear mothers, do not speak of reprisals, for the bombs of the Allies also are constantly falling on innocent little ones and causing the hearts of children's mothers to be weighed down with the agony of grief. Reprisals? Yes, many people tolerate continuance of the War because they either desire, or fear reprisals.

And now the various capitalist Governments, in their fear of being beaten and disgraced, in their fear of popular anger, are beginning to show a tendency to draw those who have opposed the War from its commencement into the net of Government influence. At the beginning of the War the Government said to the Labour Party: "Help us to beat the Germans." It has cleverly used the Labour Party to beat the British Trade Unionist. Will the Government now say to the Socialists: "Help us to make the Peace": Will it say this in the hope of keeping the War going a little longer, and of entangling in the net of compromise those who might lead the British Revolution?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

"C.O.s" IN FRANCE

Five more conscientious objectors, A. Middleton, R. Price, J. Davies, J. Garland, and G. Keighley, were sent to France on June 7th. On June 29th, 1916, Mr. Asquith pledged the War Office as follows:—

"As far as I am concerned, and as far as the War Office is concerned, no soldier will be sent to France who we have good reason to believe is a conscientious objector."

In a letter, written on board ship bound for England, posted at Southampton and received June 14th, 1917, Ernest Millwood, another conscientious objector wrote:

"At Boulougne, after a refusal to obey orders, we were threatened with death sentence and granted two intervals each of ten minutes to reconsider our position; after each we returned a distinct refusal."

TO THE MOTHERS OF THE EAST END SCHOOL CHILDREN.

We desire to express our very deep sympathy with the mothers of the children of the East London School who were injured or lost their lives through the bomb which fell on the school. We are glad that Nurse Connolly from the W.S.F. Centre was close at hand and able to be amongst the first to aid the little sufferers. At the London Section general meeting of the W.S.F. a vote of sympathy with the mothers was passed, and it was decided to send a wreath to the children's funeral.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

MR. BALFOUR'S SILLINESS.

Mr. Balfour says the Germans would have treated the Belgians like "spoilt children" if military necessity alone had forced Germany to invade Belgian territory. He was Prime Minister during the Boer War: did he give orders for the British troops to treat the Boers like spoilt children? It is a serious matter that an old gentleman capable of making such very silly speeches should be in charge of the foreign policy of this country.

WHY?

King George has chosen British names and titles for the members of his German family. Is this because Mr. H. G. Wells has suggested a British Republican Society, or because His Majesty was hissed in Whitechapel?

LORD RHONDDA.

Lord Rhondda says that he agreed to become Food Controller on condition that he should be allowed a free hand. Tell him to abolish private profit in food and secure national buying and municipal control of distribution!

WOMEN IN PETROGRAD ELECTIONS.

Women voted in the Petrograd elections, and 24 women were elected.

GREECE.

The Allied Governments have deposed King Constantine of Greece, thus clearly evidencing how hypocritical is their condemning of the violation of Belgium. They have placed the King's second son on the throne. Will they make the Kaiser's second son Emperor of Germany if they win the War?

THE ENGINEERS.

The Engineers have secured a number of concessions because the rank and file have displayed determination. But they could secure more important things if they would insist upon them. When will they strike for the abolition of profiteering in life's necessaries and the stoppage of the War?

WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL.

The acting Provisional Committee elected at the Leeds Conference proposes to divide the area of Great Britain and Ireland into 13 districts. The districts are as follows:—

(1) Scotland, E., Edinburgh; (2) Scotland, W., Glasgow; (3) N.E., Newcastle; (4) Yorkshire, Leeds; (5) Lancashire, Cheshire, and N. Wales, Manchester; (6) N. and E. Midlands, Leicester; (7) S. and W. Midlands, Birmingham; (8) East Anglia, Norwich; (9) London and Home Counties, London; (10) Southern Counties, Southampton; (11) E. Wales and Environs of Bristol, Cardiff; (12) Wales, W., Swansea; (13) Ireland.

In each district, on a Saturday in July, the Provisional Committee will hold a District Conference in the towns set out above. At each District Conference there will be elected one representative of the District to serve upon the Provisional Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

COLOURED LABOUR: By Ethel Wedgwood

The project of introducing coloured labour into Britain has, for the time being, apparently been dropped, partly, no doubt, owing to the solid opposition of the trades unions. Like other measures, however, that have been repudiated as a prelude to enactment, the scheme may be revived at any moment, as our resources in labour and produce dwindle under the War; and may not only be revived, but become an accomplished fact before it can even be discussed—so rapidly do things move with us in these days of stress.

There would not necessarily be a long delay in transporting large squads of coloured workmen; a few hours would indeed be sufficient, supposing it were true that a number of coloured labourers are at this time being acclimatised in France (whether included in or apart from the 50,000 coloured troops whom the Germans declare to be employed by the Allies on the Western front).

It is therefore reasonable to discuss the subject in its various aspects as at least a practical, perhaps not remote possibility.

Coloured indentured labour might offer, therefore, a very attractive alternative to the organisation of compulsory "National Service" for women; and a further advantage over female labour would lie in the fact that, after the War, or precisely when and in proportion as might be found convenient, these coloured gangs could be withdrawn from the labour market, so that "dilution" by coloured men, unlike dilution by women citizens, would create no further permanent complication of industrial problems.

How such a body of State-controlled labour would affect the British workers (women or men) would depend, of course, on circumstances then existing. Given pre-War conditions, or even those of twelve months ago, coloured labour would certainly have been a "strike-breaking" agency, whatever guarantees nominally existed against under-cutting or the employment of coloured men as blacklegs (the danger lying, of course, not in their colour, but in the conditions of their labour). If, however, Industrial Conscription is here linked on to Military Conscription, the present difference of status between white workers and coloured workers will become merely one of degree; they would be on an equality as regards the *nature* of their labour, though the standard of life for the white conscript labourer would no doubt be maintained at a sufficiently high level above that of his (or her) coloured comrade, to safeguard European prestige.

The Rev. Mr. Harris (a gentleman who is, I believe, a leading spirit of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and long known for his zeal against the slave practices which still prevail among the tribes in parts of Africa) published a letter in the "Manchester Guardian" some months ago, in which he spoke of the African negroids whom it was proposed to bring over as labourers as freely forsaking their sunny skies to come and assist their Mother Country (*i.e.*, England, presumably) in her struggle for liberty and justice. I quote from memory, and no doubt somewhat inaccurately, but the paragraph struck me as a very remarkable one; because Mr. Harris, of course, knows much better than most people the feelings and practices of African native races, as well as the methods by which their labour is usually recruited, so that it is very satisfactory to have his assurance that they are prepared to come freely for the sake of us, their Mothers, and of Liberty and Justice. Usually, I have heard, the method in practice is for the recruiting agents to give a bonus to the native chiefs, who then use their own methods to provide the number of heads of "black cattle" required. But if we can this time, for once, be at ease as to the voluntary enthusiasm of the converted cannibal for liberty and for his "Mother Country," we would gladly be equally assured that before coming each black volunteer will have full understanding of the circumstances of life, work, pay, climate, &c., in the country to which he is to be transported.

Let us see what these circumstances (for him) will be. Freedom, such as he enjoyed in bush and veldt, will of course be impossible. It will be impossible for his own sake—for at the first real, or imputed, trespass against civilisation his white fellow-citizens will rise with the cruelty of terror, and either lynch him (as in America) or expel all his race. It will be an impossibility for the population at large, to whom his habits will be a perpetual inconvenience. Lastly, it would frustrate the object of bringing him over, which was to obtain docile and certain labour. For his own sake, therefore, and everyone else's, he will have to live in a compound, *i.e.*, in a convict prison, with a ticket-of-leave (or permit) system, with a scale of fines, corporal punishments, with no possibility of leaving, refusing, nor exchanging any employment to which he may be put, and with only a prospective enjoyment of the wages of his labour.

Thirteen years ago, when the Transvaal was a Crown colony, a similar system was temporarily introduced there, when Chinese compounds were started to work the gold mines. The reason given then and there was—as it would be now and here—the threatened ruin of the country for want of labour to develop it; but there semi-servile labour already existed in the form of a large Kaffir population, subject to a system of "permits" and other special police regulations. The measure met with indignant and successful protest from the Labour organisations and from many middle-class persons who were impressed by the reports of the vice and mortality bred in these coloured labour prisons and the apparent danger to white inhabitants living in their neighbourhood.

It may be that many people who then, at the distance of 6,000 miles, were roused to indignation by Chinese indentured labour in the Johannesburg gold mines, may think that now in England a precisely similar system on a much larger scale may be "necessary," just as Conscription, Censorship of the Press Martial Law in Ireland, the Munitions Act, and other Acts not named, have been found "necessary" in our War against Prussianism. So many eternal principles are being "scrapped" every day that it is perhaps futile to invoke any of them over this question of coloured labour.

Yet, perhaps the women workers of this country will do well to ask themselves whether their own movement towards freedom and equality of treatment would be furthered, or hindered, by an importation of coloured bondsmen into the labour market, and whether social conditions will, or will not, be bettered by the presence in our midst of a segregated and captive community?

ETHEL WEDGWOOD.

THE AMNESTY

The Irish prisoners have been set free, and this in less than a week after the proclaiming of a meeting held in Dublin to demand their release, and to protest against the removal of some of the prisoners—handcuffed and chained in groups like wild beasts—to ordinary convict prisons! The ways of Governments are surely passing strange and incomprehensible. In Parliament Mr. Bonar Law said that the Government had come to this conclusion, that against those set free no proof of active participation in the 1916 Rebellion could be found. Neither was it thought that they were dangerous to the public safety. One must ask then why were they ever imprisoned? Why were their fellow countrymen, no more "guilty" than they, shot down before a voice could be raised in their defence? Why all the inhumanity of Easter week and the constant persecution since that date? And lastly, why were the amnestied prisoners rushed through to Ireland in the dark of night? All but one, she who had been separated from her imprisoned countrymen and cut off from all the consolation possible from such companionship: Countess Markievicz.

Surrounded by welcoming friends, I met her on Monday afternoon a few hours after her release. So this was the brave woman who had come out into the streets of Dublin in Sinn Fein uniform a year last Easter, to fight for the liberty of her country! In spite of her commanding appearance, it is hard to associate her with violence and to believe that the Government was so much afraid of her that she was sentenced to death. Her imprisonment has left her filled with the desire to have better conditions for those who are still condemned to the appalling prison régime of this country. It was mainly about prison life and its petty persecution and jealousies that she chatted to us. When current events and important happenings of the past year were mentioned, she asked us to explain, exclaiming: "You forget that I've been in jail!" It seemed incredible that that graceful and charming being in turquoise blue silk, reclining on a couch was an ex-jail-bird and had roughed it for fourteen months, doing the same work as the habitual criminal. When she saw that I had taken possession of the picture which appears on our front page, her face lit up. "Oh, that's my beloved dog. I shall soon see him now." And she told me she was going to Ireland on Thursday. Back to all her dear friends and fellow enthusiasts; keener, if possible—than ever to secure Ireland's freedom. She was loved before, but now she has undergone imprisonment for the country's sake, she is a heroine in Ireland. In fact, the imprisonment of the Sinn Feiners has multiplied their supporters a thousand-fold.

M. O'C.

WHAT DO WE WANT?

One goes to market and in every shop women are complaining of the increased prices, and shopkeepers compare the goods of pre-war days to the inferior goods of to-day, but each agrees that Germany must be crushed.

On entering a trade union branch meeting room nothing but discontent is written on the face of every man, yet with pride one tells of a soldier's son recently killed or hears of a comrade enlisting.

Conferences and meetings are held everywhere protesting against increased cost of living, extensions of Defence of Realm Act, industrial conscription, etc., yet at almost every meeting delegates declare that they do not represent a peace or stop-the-war body. How illogical it all seems!

All these hardships are an inevitable and necessary outcome of the war and every day's prolongation of war necessarily means more drastic measures being taken. The successful issue of this war (our governing class tells us) depends on the sacrifice made by the nation, and the greater the sacrifice and more prompt the more speedy will peace be. If this is so, how does it happen that all these professedly pro-war bodies attempt to enforce trade union conditions to-day, when it is obvious that better conditions for the workers is the antithesis of national sacrifice?

It is absurd to create a hardship with one hand and attempt to ward it off with the other. It is unreasonable to hinder the legislators, and yet profess to agree with them that this is a war for freedom.

We must either desire war or peace.

If we desire war we might reasonably be expected to *offer* the greatest sacrifices, but those who are *not* prepared to suggest that their subsistence level be lowered must desire peace, realising that every day's prolongation of war necessarily entails that enormous expense which can only be met by extreme sacrifice of the workers. Desiring peace, demand it, and only then can one logically protest against the encroachment of the Government upon our civil liberties.

JEANNE BIRNS.

THE REFERENDUM IN BOW

It is not very easy at the present time to make people in this corner of the world take an active interest in anything but air raids. Even the important question of food has retired into the immediate background, for people seem to think food does not matter if one is not alive to eat it. But when one points out that politics can control Peace and War and so have influence upon air raids and that politics are largely a matter of votes, interest begins to awaken.

"Why don't those Germans go up Park Lane, or drop a few bombs on the House of Commons?" asked one lady, adding " they'd stop the War then pretty soon, I know. There's five of us in this house, and we'll vote to stop the war."

We explained it was a case of voting to get a vote. She was reproachful then, and thought that if we had worked harder for the vote before the War we might now be able to work directly for Peace, and so get her son back from the trenches. When is she going to help on her own account?

Another told us how she would use her vote. She would not vote for men, who would do nothing for children. If there were women in Parliament the schools, as well as Buckingham Palace, would be made bomb-proof. One woman was very anxious to have a vote, but did not wish to be called a Suffragette, because she thought they had helped the War.

The Speaker's Conference terms were not very favourably received. The idea in Bow seems to be that working people, women especially, suffer more from War than others, so that they really need power to protect themselves.

Women who are under 30 think it unfair that they should be kept without the vote for that reason. Many who are a good deal over that age think it well to raise the age limit for men as well as women. This, men seem to think rather a joke and decline to take it seriously.

The referendum is popular. The fact that by its means conscription was defeated in Australia has made it seem good and real to the people. It has helped to make many realise the possible power of the vote. The old cry of "Votes for Women" has lost its value to rouse support or opposition. The new demand of "Votes for the People" has a wider appeal.

There is very little opposition, but there is the apathy, the lack of interest in every-day affairs which the War has caused. Once interest can be roused, sympathy is easy to obtain. "If votes could give us peace, we'd want them" sums up the situation, and, of course, we know that votes could bring peace.

To spread this knowledge among the people many canvassers are needed. The voting is for the four North wards of Bow. There are 134 streets, so it can be seen that the task before us is no light one. All those who are interested in Adult Suffrage, Proportional Representation, and the Referendum should come to Bow during the next few weeks.—P. LYNCH.

OUR STREET ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13th

All was quiet and peaceful, and our street seemed especially drowsy in the heat of the summer's day; the women were strolling leisurely round the stalls, and even the stall-holders appeared too lazy to shout, when, suddenly, we heard a loud crash, followed rapidly by another and then another. There was no mistaking the sound, and there followed a wild scramble for shelter, the women rushing home to their children. The sound of the bombs became louder and louder until almost deafening, and the very ground was shaken under our feet, and all the while the desperate rush of people continued, and then slowly the noise died away, and the people reappeared from the factories near by, several of which had been struck. Men and girls, hatless and work-stained, streamed forth, the men in their shirt sleeves, the girls in their overalls, running home to their loved ones, while the column of smoke rose higher and higher behind them. In the opposite direction came the frantic wives and mothers; they, too, straight from work, some still wearing their rough aprons, some with their blouses unfastened, a few with their arms still wet and steaming from the wash-tub. All were ashen-faced and distracted, and not a few were groaning and sobbing. "Oh, my children! my children!" cried one whose knees seemed to give way under her in her desperate eagerness.

We saw a mother meet her two young daughters. "Thank God!" she cried, and seized them as if she would never let them go again.

Later on, we saw a Jewish woman being led gently home by two friends. Her hand was held to her forehead, while, half-dazed, she uttered an incoherent jumble of Yiddish and English. Her grief would have needed no translation, but through it all there rang the words, "Dead! Dead! Dead!"

In the afternoon the children were grovelling on the road outside our door seeking for shrapnel buried in the wood pavement. Their cheerful squabbling as to whether their finds were real shrapnel or old iron gave a feeling of strange unreality to it all.

That evening we were discussing events with one who had seen much of the horror. "We really shouldn't grumble," he said, "we do the same to them." A. O. B.

An Open Letter to Will Thorne, M.P.

By a RUSSIAN SOCIALIST.

DEAR SIR,—A few days ago I happened to read in "Justice" of the 7th inst. an interview with yourself, in which you are alleged to have said with regard to the Jews that "they are well represented on the Workmen's and Soldiers' Committees, and on some of them they have a majority"; and you went on to say that "we discovered they were anxious for peace under almost any conditions. They stated frankly that they could not be expected to take part in any fighting against their brethren of Austria and Germany."

I have just arrived from Russia. I was present at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Workmen's and Soldiers' Council at the time when you addressed them, congratulating revolutionary Moscow upon its victory and revolutionary Russia upon the defeat of autocracy. You have delivered that message in the name of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, in the name of the Socialists and Trade Unionists of England, and in the name of the whole English people. I have heard all you said, all the replies which the members of the Executive have given you, and know well all the people who have replied.

I am a Russian revolutionary. I have been five times arrested and kept in prisons by the Government of the Czar, and was liberated by the mighty upheaval of the Revolution from lifelong exile to Siberia.

I wish to ask you a plain question. Why, and with what object, are you giving false information about the composition of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates?

Where and in what Council have you heard Jewish delegates insist on peace at any price and say that they could not be expected to take part in any fighting against their brethren of Austria and Germany?

Are you not aware that the Jewish propertied classes, to my greatest regret, support with all their power M. Miliukoff and his party?

Do you not understand that such false information about the activities of the Jews on the Councils is a libel on the Jewish population and is an insult to the dignity of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, who have six representatives in the Provisional Government, and are working in contact with the latter?—Yours faithfully,

J. BAUM,
Temporarily in London on business for the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Workers, Male and Female, Organise in the One Big Union of All Workers!
Sectional Unions don't Unite; they Divide.
The I.W.W. organises **all** Workers in each shop.
One Class, One Struggle, One Union, One Enemy, and One Cause.
Meetings held on Monday Nights at 8.30 in I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, E.
Contributions, 1s. per month. Nothing if Unemployed.
Join the **Fighting Union, the I.W.W.**

THE HERALD

THE NATIONAL LABOUR WEEKLY

IN the current issue of "The Herald" appears a notable article on the coming reorganisation of industry, politics, and social life.

"Plans for a People's Party"

¶ The war has destroyed the whole world—and the old argument and prejudices. Everyone is talking of "Reconstruction." *This article shows how the new world can be built.*

¶ Here are some of the Headings:

ECONOMIC: Conscription of Wealth. Equality of income (£7 a week shown to be feasible). Mines Railways, etc., to be owned by the State, leased to the Unions, managed by the Workers. Economic Independence of Women: Payment of Wives and other domestic workers.

POLITICAL: Abolition of the House of Lords: Creation of an Industrial Chamber. Full political rights for all men and women. Democratisation of the public services (post-office, army, navy). Freedom of Conscience, Speech, and the Press.

SOCIAL: Maintenance of children during school age. High minimum standard of comfort in Housing. "The opportunity to enjoy life."

FOREIGN POLICY: The right of Peoples to decide their own destiny. Backward Peoples to be treated as an International Trust. No secret treaties; no annexations; no indemnities. General disarmament as a clause of the Peace Treaty.

¶ Every worker and every soldier can find his Charter in the current issue of "The Herald." Published to-day. Everywhere. One penny. Weekly.

21 Tudor Street, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

THE HERALD

Advertisement set by the Pelican Press, 4 Gough Square, E.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

June 12th.—Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein) protested against the prohibition of public meetings in Ireland, and alleged that the police in every case were responsible for any disorder caused.

* * * *

June 13th.—Captain Bathurst stated that 75,000 applications for sugar for jam-making have been made to the Sugar Commission. We want to know why this sugar is to cost 7d. per pound!

COAL SUPPLY.

Sir Albert Stanley assured the House that "special arrangements" to divert to London additional supplies of coal had been made. This, he seemed to think, would prevent hardship in the coming winter. There must be more precaution taken than this to provide against a repetition of last year's privations.

CORN PRODUCTION EXPENSES.

The expenses likely to be incurred by guaranteeing farmers fixed prices for corn gave rise to a long debate. Mr. Prothero urged that by increasing home-grown production you give an effective answer to the submarine menace. Mr. Lambert (L.) argued that the number of acres to be cultivated depended upon the labour that was forthcoming. Mr. Molteno (L.) objected to committing the country to extra expense, which might amount to £104,000,000. Mr. Anderson (Lab.) denounced the system of ensuring prices, and said that what was wanted was a just system of land tenure. Mr. Anderson went on to say that labour would have to pay these increased prices. Commander Wedgwood (L.) said this Bill was giving a large bonus to the big landlords of the country.

* * * *

June 14th.—In reply to Mr. Lees Smith's (L.) query whether the Italians had declared any permanent Protectorate over Epirus, Lord R. Cecil asked to be given "notice" of that question. Obviously the Allies have not adopted Russia's "no annexation" policy.

FOOD PROFITEERS.

Mr. Flavin (I.N.) alleged that companies like the Home and Colonial Stores have made over half a million clear profit on food in the last twelve months!

* * * *

Mr. Byrne (I.N.) condemned the Government for giving private employers in Ireland the lead in paying low wages, since 16s. and 25s. were paid to Government workers. Mr. Duke could not see the necessity for granting a bonus to these wage-earners unless he knew "for what that wage is paid"! It is the business of the Government both in Ireland and England to pay a living wage regardless of the work. Mr. Duke should realise this and not make lame excuses.

BRITISH TRADE CORPORATION.

The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Albert Stanley), on the Committee stage of the question of subsidising the British Trade Corporation, justified the action of the Board of Trade. Such an institution was wanted, he urged, and business men had done nothing to found one; therefore the Board of Trade had to step in.

* * * *

June 15th.—Mr. Bonar Law announced that Lord Rhondda had accepted the position of Food Controller. We hope that, in view of his professedly great interest in National Health, he will now see that every citizen has enough food to ensure good health.

CLYDE DEPORTEES.

In reply to Mr. Anderson (Lab.), Mr. Kellaway said it was not proposed to publish the evidence upon which Clyde workers were deported. Of course not, the Government cannot afford to give itself away!

MILITARY SERVICE (CONVENTIONS) BILL.

Much opposition and disapproval were shown to the Military Service (Conventions) Bill in Committee. Mr. Trevelyan (L.) and Mr. King (L.) seemed to think the best way to mend the Bill was to state in what countries it would be applicable. Others pointed out that no guarantee could be given for the treatment any Government might mete out to British subjects conscribed. There seems no chance that the Bill will be defeated.

AMNESTY TO IRISH PRISONERS.

Mr. Bonar Law announced the decision of the Government to grant a general amnesty to the Irish political prisoners. General approval was expressed from all quarters of the House. Mr. Devlin (I.N.) regretted that the Government had not come to this decision sooner. Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein), whilst congratulating the Government, was beginning to express the opinion that the amnesty was granted from purely selfish motives when the House was counted out. Mr. King (L.) gave the game away by saying that the count had been arranged, and that he had been solicited to join! What a mean trick! We congratulate Mr. Ginnell on his success in making the British Government fear his opinion.

HUMBUG!

June 18th—Replying to a question as to whether the Greek people would be consulted as to what sort of Government they wish, Lord R. Cecil said: "Personally I certainly cannot imagine that the British Government, with all the traditions of the British Constitution behind it . . . would take any steps to prevent the free expression of the Greek people on any domestic affair." Being asked about equal treatment for Ireland, he said he was "glad" he had nothing to do with the Irish question! The Irish would be glad if the whole British Government "had nothing to do" with them!

THE FRANCHISE BILL

On Monday, June 11th, Sir George Cave agreed to accept an amendment giving latitude to the Boundary Commission in applying the instructions in the case of unduly large constituencies, or those in which, perhaps, because of a ridge of hills dividing it or for some industrial or other reason, the character of the constituency would be inconvenient if the instructions were adhered to. It was evident that members who pushed for special representation for "agriculture" viewed the question from the standpoint of the landlord and employer, whose interests must be safeguarded, and the candidate, who would find a large constituency difficult at election times. No one spoke on behalf of the agricultural labourers and their wives.

Sir John Simon said that if the Commissioners were to be allowed to give more representation to some districts than the Instructions proposed, they must either add to the membership of Parliament or deprive some districts of representation to which the Instructions would entitle them. This point was not answered.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Captain Jessell moved an amendment against Proportional Representation, which he opposed for a number of trivial reasons, one being that members of Parliament who represented large constituencies were put to great expense in contributing to agricultural shows, etc. He said that Mr. Lloyd George could not understand the question, though his mind was acute and able, therefore there would be more spoilt ballot papers, and that the Speaker's Conference had agreed to Proportional Representation because some of its members did not understand it. The system—"always came back to one, two, three": it reminded him of an old nursery rhyme:—

"One, two, three, mother caught a flea,
Put it in the teapot to make a cup of tea;
First she put the milk in, and the flea began to hop,
Then she poured the water in, and the flea went pop."

So members of Parliament beguile their time during the progress of the world War for which they are responsible!

Mr. Burdett Coutts, a Conservative member, would have tolerated Proportional Representation if applied to Wales, where, of course, Conservatives are never returned under the present system, but in London he could not endure it. Major Newman pointed out that in districts like Stepney and Poplar, where the resident population is entirely working class, there is no Labour representative.

Mr. C. Roberts, in supporting Proportional Representation, did so by arguments which do not altogether recommend themselves to us. He said "it weakens the power of inconsiderable minorities, but strengthens the influence of substantial minorities," and urged that it would prevent minorities from adopting what he called "wrecking tactics": that is to say, voting against a party which professes to support a reform in order to force it to take it up in real earnest, as has often been done to the Liberal party. We do not agree that Proportional Representation necessarily removes this often valuable means of securing reforms. Mr. Roberts smugly added that Proportional Representation does not break down, but builds up party and that it prevents candidates from indulging in bitter speeches, because "candidates, thinking of second votes, will be anxious not to offend."

Sir F. E. Smith supported Proportional Representation, and virtually threatened that if it were defeated the Bill would be wrecked. He said that he was an opponent to Votes for Women, but he recognised that:—

"There is in front of us the prospect of a new industrial strife, and more and more, owing to the wasted power of our male population, women must become active competitors, and it would be hard that they should have to enter the struggle in circumstances where their male competitors have the vote, with all that it means, and they should not have it."

Nevertheless, if he had autocratic power, he would not enfranchise women, but he had made up his mind to abandon his objection in return for the acceptance of the proposals as a whole, and especially to get proportional representation.

Sir F. Low, in opposing Proportional Representation, asked what was to happen in bye-elections. If a member died, was his successor to be of the same political complexion? Was it likely that the majority of the electorate, which might be of the opposite way of thinking, would refrain from putting forward a candidate?

Mr. Leslie Scott replied that there were many ways of dealing with bye-elections. One way was to allocate the various members, each to a section of the constituency for bye-election purposes only. The sections might be chosen by order of seniority, or by lot, or the whole constituency might be polled for a single member. Both these plans are open to some objections, we think. He said that Proportional Representation had never been abandoned after a trial: Holland had adopted it after seeing its workings in Belgium; France would have had it now but for the War; it was established in New Zealand, South Africa, and Tasmania, and it was a plank in the platform of the Australian Liberal Party.

Sir George Reid said that Australia had adopted the alternative vote in preference to Proportional Representation, and in crowded urban constituencies gave one member for 40,000 or 50,000 electors, and in scattered areas one member to 10,000 or 15,000 votes.

Mr. Herbert Samuel said he would agree to Proportional Representation as an experiment, provided it were not applied to London or to any constituency which was violently opposed to it. He assumed the views of the constituency on this matter to be those of the member representing the constituency, though Proportional Representation has never been a test question at any election, and though there is always a tendency for members to say: "The system that elected me is good enough for me; if the system were changed I might be defeated." Mr. Samuel said that undoubtedly Proportional Representation would provide a more perfect mirror of the mind of the nation than the present system, but it would necessitate large constituencies, which would make it impossible for members to be in touch with their constituents, and would increase the power of the Press, as electors could only know the candidates through the newspapers. The power of the party caucus would also be increased. The cost of elections would be increased, as in a five-member constituency expenses at 4d. per head per elector, the amount allowed by the Bill, would come to £2,000, and candidates spending less would be placed at a disadvantage.

SHOULD PARLIAMENT BE ENLARGED?

We have always considered that large constituencies are the principle drawback to Proportional Representation, and if the membership of the House of Commons is to remain at its present figure Proportional Representation undoubtedly necessitates large constituencies. But must the members of the House always correspond to its present figure? Might there not be distinct advantages in having a House of 1,500 or 2,000 members, especially if the Committee system and District or Industrial Home Rule were to be introduced? Parliament, as we know it to-day, is a highly unsatisfactory legislative machine.

Sir F. E. Smith, the Attorney-General, having spoken in favour of the Bill, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, opposed it, stating that whilst members of the Government were expected to support the Bill as a whole, they had perfect freedom to do as they pleased on Proportional Representation and Votes for Women. He urged that large constituencies would destroy local patriotism, and that men who went out with their vans at 6 a.m. and did not return till 8 or 9 p.m. could not learn how to vote by Proportional Representation. Being a Conservative, he, of course, never asks himself whether the system which condemns men to work 14 or 15 hours a day at monotonous toil should be allowed to continue. His outlook on life is that of the well-to-do Parliamentarian, and his greatest objection to Proportional Representation was clearly that summed up in the following illuminating phrases:—

"I believe you are going to drive all decent people out of Parliamentary life if you adopt this system. I cannot imagine anyone who has enjoyed being alone, single-handed, often perhaps in a triumphant position, but who has enjoyed on the whole the single gladiator's feat in his own constituency . . . . going into a new sort of contest on a ticket system."

To be one of five members appeared to him as quite ignominious by comparison.

Lord H. Cecil supported Proportional Representation, urging that the difficulty of cost should be met by Parliament defraying the "permitted expenses of every serious candidate, instead of paying salaries to M.P.s." Who is to decide who is a "serious candidate?" we ask. This, he said, would make members more independent; they would not fear an election. If Proportional Representation were adopted a member would represent those who agreed with him and who supported him because they did so, not because they disliked his views rather less than those of his opponent. Since the Reform Bill of 1885 every Parliament, save that of 1892, had been grossly unrepresentative. The difference between the actual House of Commons and the one which would have been elected under Proportional Representation was in 1885 72 seats, in 1886 112 seats, in 1892 7 seats, in 1895 138 seats, in 1900 118 seats, in 1906 252 seats, in the first election of 1910 62 seats, and in the second election 88 seats. Members had no title to sit in that House except as representatives of the people. It is strange to find Lord Hugh arguing as a democrat, but he frankly admitted that he supports Proportional Representation as a Conservative measure. He probably foresees the day when, the workers having become class-conscious, employers and landowners will only be able to obtain seats by some such system of minority representation. But when that day comes, let us hope the workers will transform the landlords and employers into fellow-workers! Lord Hugh said that his conviction in favour of Proportional Representation was greatly strengthened by the fact that the Webbs oppose it.

Mr. J. M. Robertson said that Proportional Representation is used in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Serbia, part of Switzerland, and Wurtemberg.

At eight o'clock Sir George Cave suggested that a vote should be taken, but Sir Frederick Banbury insisted on speaking, amid cries of "Divide." He twitted the Government on insisting that the decisions of the Conference must be adhered to when it pleased them to do so, whilst they left this matter to a "free vote of the House," although the Conference had unanimously adopted it. He said he did not understand Proportional Representation, but the only thing to be done in view of the startling revolution which the Bill would introduce was to support any safeguard, "whether you are sure it will be a safeguard or not, which may tend to ensure that the passions of the populace will not be dominant." We sometimes think that Sir F. Banbury is a sort of Parliamentary Bernard Shaw, who amuses himself by making fun of the House.

Proportional Representation was defeated by 149 votes to 141. As the majority was so narrow, its supporters still hope for its reinstatement in the Bill.

Mr. Hogge and other Scotsmen threatened that if the number of Scottish representatives were reduced the Bill would not be allowed to pass. The only Scottish representatives the Scottish members would agree to part with were those representing the Universities. They wanted a Scottish Parliament.

* * * *

On June 18th the debate on the Franchise Bill was continued. Sir John Simon, in expressing the hope that P.R. might yet be preserved, admitted that in cities like Liverpool and Glasgow, where only one Local Government vote is now allowed, the Bill will establish plural voting.

UNIVERSITY VOTES.

Mr. Whitehouse moved to prevent a person being registered as a voter for more than one university. He pointed out that whilst a person could only vote for one university constituency at a general election, he could vote in any university constituency for which he might be registered at bye-elections. The amendment was defeated.

SCOTTISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT FRANCHISE.

Mr. MacCallum Scott moved to confine to England and Wales the provisions restricting the Local Government vote to owners and tenants and refusing it to lodgers. He pointed out that in Scotland and Ireland the Local Government franchise is as wide as that for Parliament, and that in Glasgow 39,000 people would be disfranchised, and in the whole of Scotland probably 100,000, by the exclusion of lodgers. He suggested that either the proposed new Parliamentary franchise should be used for Local Government purposes also, or that the Scottish Local Government franchise should remain as before. Mr. Munro, the Secretary for Scotland, replied with a promise that amendments would be made to prevent the disfranchisement of Scottish Local Government electors.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

Scottish and Irish women, like Scottish and Irish men, exercise the Local Government franchise. The Speaker's Conference proposed that women over 30 should be Parliamentary electors if qualified as Local Government electors or the wives of such. But Mr. MacCallum Scott thought the House would strongly object to Scottish women exercising the Parliamentary franchise on wider terms than those open to English women. He therefore suggested that Scottish women should have the Parliamentary vote, not as Scottish Local Government electors, or wives of Scottish Local Government electors, but as English Local Government electors, or wives of such. Mr. Wardle, leader of the Labour Party, echoed this view. (How strictly moderate some people are where the rights of others are concerned!) The Secretary for Scotland said that the scheme of the compromise would be disturbed if the Scottish women's franchise were not narrowed down to that proposed for England.

LONDON FRANCHISE.

It was then pointed out that in the London area also the Local Government franchise is the same as the Parliamentary, and many Members urged that the promise made to Scotland, that no Local Government elector should be disfranchised, should be extended also to London, where 108,000 lodgers would be disfranchised. But Sir George Cave refused. Mr. Adamson moved that throughout the British Isles the Local Government franchise should be made the same as the proposed Parliamentary franchise. Sir George Cave objected that Local votes should be given on consideration of ratepaying, and Mr. Herbert Samuel protested that the "apparently innocent proposal would give the Parliamentary votes to 7,000,000 women, a prospect which he evidently thought quite appalling. Eventually Sir George Cave agreed to accept amendments by Mr. Dickinson enabling tenants of unfurnished lodgings to exercise the Local franchise. Mr. Wilson pleaded for the

(Continued on back page, col. 2.)

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth

Entrance Fee ... ... Id.
Minimum Subscription... Id. a month

I wish to become a Member of the W.S.F. and enclose.....subscription and entrance fee for.....months.

***Name*.....**

***Address*.....**

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, JUNE 22nd.
"Salmon and Ball," 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SATURDAY, JUNE 23rd.
Morpeth Street, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Rev. Cheetham.
SUNDAY, JUNE 24th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mr. Gossling.
The Grove, Stratford (joint meeting with N.-C.F.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Highbury Corner (joint meeting with South Islington B.S.P.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Victoria Park, 5 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Square, Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Market Place, Reading (joint meeting with B.S.P.), 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Mrs. Stallard, Messrs. Hodgson and Marriott..
TUESDAY, JUNE 26th.
Bonner Lane, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
THURSDAY, JUNE 28th.
Cannon Street Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
FRIDAY, JUNE 29th.
Hoxton Street, 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SATURDAY, JUNE 30th.
Ford Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Lesbia Road, Hackney, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Club Row, Bethnal Green, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

INDOOR

BOW WOMEN'S HALL.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m. Singling Class.

49 CREDITON ROAD, TIDAL BASIN.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m., Branch Meeting.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP, 85 Hoxton Street (a few minutes' walk from Shoreditch Church or from Old Street Station). Thursday, June 28th, 8.15 p.m. Miss Hodge, "The Russian Revolution and Rising of 1905."

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY.—Monday next, 2 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.

GRAND CONCERT at "WONDERLAND," WHITECHAPEL ROAD, E., in aid of the newly-formed "East End Workers' Choir," Sunday, July 1st, 7.30 p.m. The Russian Folk Song Amateur Choir, organised and conducted by Madame Maria Levinskaya, will sing Russian Folk Songs. Russian National Dances will also be performed. Solos, Madame Slava Krassavina (contralto); piano solos, Madame Maria Levinskaya; violin solos, Sasha Lasserson. Tickets, 2s. 8d. (reserved), 1s. 2d., and 7d. (including war tax), can be obtained from 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3; Mr. J. Woolf, "Wonderland," Whitechapel Road, E.1; The International Suffrage Shop, 5 Duke Street, Strand, W.C., and at the door. Join the Workers' Choir. Class every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

HOXTON BRANCH MEETING.

Branch meeting was held on June 14th. General business was discussed. The following officers were elected: Hon. secretary, Miss Beamish; committee, Mrs. Blake, Mr. Clare, Mrs. Cohen, Miss Rayment, Mrs. Simmons, and Mrs. Simms.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—Next Sunday, 8.15 p.m., Mrs. Salter will speak on "The Future of Democracy." Discussion, 9.30 p.m.

Phone: Central 3820 TOYE & Co., Established 1855
57 Theobalds Road, London, W.C.
Sole Manufacturers of
Banners and Flags for Demonstrations
Metal and Enamelled Badges for all Societies.
Medals Celluloid and Buttons.
Flags for Charity Collection Days
WRITE for CATALOGUE, DESIGN and QUOTATION

Will "M. K." please communicate with 400 Old Ford Road, E.3? Address required for replies to her letter.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Church of the New Ideal, per Miss Hoy, £5; Miss M. Joachim £4; W. J. Woods, Esq., £2; Mrs. Widdicombe, £2; "Irene," per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Mrs. Smith and Miss Woolley, 5s.; Profit on Poplar Club, 5s.; Miss Cutten (monthly), 5s.; Miss E. F. Buckley, 3s. 6d.; Mrs. Stevens, 2s.; Mrs. Beans, 1s. 6d.; J. W. Everett, Esq., 1s.; H. Royle, Esq. 1s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Boyce, 12s. 8d.; Mrs. Walker, 7s.; Mrs. Bouvier, 5s. 6d.; Chandos Hall, 3s. 6d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Miss Gulland, £1; Mrs. Hinton (monthly), 5s.; Miss Candlin (Libel), 2s. 6d. ("Dreadnought"), 2s.; Miss E. K. Russell (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Silksworth I.L.P., 1s.; COLLECTION: Poplar Members (farthings), 8s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Profit on Nursery Social, £5 2s.; per Miss Udny, £2 8s. 6d.; Bow Sale of Clothes, £2 0s. 2d.; Miss I. V. Yeoman (10s. weekly), £2; Miss M. R. R. Mackenzie, £2; L. A. Harrison, Esq., £1 1s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 12s.; Mrs. Ayrton, 10s.; Mrs. Leila Burroughs (monthly), 10s.; Mr. Pocock, 5s.; The Eagle Scouts (proceeds from own garden), 5s.; Mothers at Bow Clinic, 5s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Toolroom, £1 10s. 4d.; Mrs. Whyte, £1 5s. 6d.; Misses E. Lagsding and L. Barker (Greens Yard), 12s. 9d.; Misses K. Lagsding and T. Barker (Cubitt Town), 6s.; Miss Trim, 5s. 6d.; Bow Road Theosophical Club, 1s. 11½d.

CLOTHES, ETC.—Mrs. Minturn Scott, "Anon," and Mrs. Leo Henderson.

MOTHERS AND BABIES

The Mothers' Arms, 438 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Day nursery from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays, 2.30 p.m. Mothers and babies can consult Nurse at any time.

Health Talks for Mothers are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

WANTED.—A cupboard for the Nursery..

20 Railway Street, Poplar.
(opposite South Bromley Station).

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Thursdays, 2.30 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley-by-Bow.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Fridays, 10.30 a.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

Cost Price Restaurants at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

FOREIGN NEWS

FROM RUSSIA.

MAXIM GORKY'S PAPER APPROVES SOLDIERS' TRUCE.

The "Novaja Zhizn" ("New Life"), edited by Maxim Gorky, attacks Kerenski's declaration on the Russian offensive. The article demands the revision of all treaties with the Allies, and protests against any Russian offensive, which—the journal says—would serve only to conquer Alsace-Lorraine and Syria for the French Imperialists, the German Colonies for the English, Trieste and the Trentino for the Italians, and Serbian, Bulgarian, and Ukrainian territory for the Roumanians.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS.

The Commission appointed by the Provisional Government to prepare the Constituent Assembly has held its first meeting in Petrograd, Kokoschkin has been appointed Chairman of the Commission.

OBJECTS OF SOCIALISTS IN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Workers' and Soldiers' Council announces that the Socialist Ministers have joined the Revolutionary Government to obtain a general peace by an understanding between the peoples, and not to prolong an Imperialistic War by endeavouring to liberate nations with bayonets. The Socialist Ministers do not desire to stop the class war, but to strengthen it by the use of political power.

The All-Russia Congress of Peasants' Delegates has voted for a Democratic Federal Republic.

RUSSIA'S RECONSTRUCTION.

A project of organisation of Elementary Schools for Adults is being prepared in Russia, where 70 per cent. of the men and 80 per cent. of the women have not learnt the alphabet. These schools are to teach reading, writing, and give a knowledge of citizen-rights and duties, universal suffrage and the Constituent Assembly.

The International Socialist Conference organised by the Russian "Soviet" will take place in Stockholm on June 18th.

FROM GERMANY.

According to the "Neueste Münchéner Nachrichten," an important Reform Congress is being held in Berlin.

* * * *

Many strikes are reported in Germany, including that of women tramway employees in Cologne.

* * * *

The "Berliner Tagblatt" demands the publication of all diplomatic documents which passed between the Berlin and Vienna Governments in July, 1914.

* * * *

The "Vorwärts" has published an article in which it asks the French Socialists for reconciliation. The article declares that Bebel and Liebknecht protested against the violation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871, and that since Alsace and Lorraine were incorporated in the German Empire the German Socialists have always struggled for their liberation.

* * * *

A conference of Liberals in Saxony cast 66 votes to 45 in favour of universal suffrage and proportional representation. They are in advance of British politicians it appears!

FROM ITALY.

"Avanti" reports that at a Socialist Conference in Milan a unanimous resolution was carried to adhere at the Stockholm Conference to the principles adopted in Zimmerwald in agreement with the Russian comrades.

* * * *

French Trade Unionists have posted a resolution of sympathy with Dr. Fritz Adler, and pledged themselves to do their utmost to prevent his execution.

ROUMANIA.

According to the "Petit Parisien," Roumania regards the Russian formula "no annexation and no indemnities" as acceptable.

HUNGARY.

The "Pesti Lloyd" announces that at a conference of municipalities a motion in favour of universal, equal, and secret suffrage was adopted unanimously.

LUXEMBURG.

GENERAL STRIKE BETTER THAN GUN FIRE.

In Luxemburg a general strike is in progress which is said to be supported by the whole population. The Germans have prohibited all demonstrations. Troops and guns are stationed in the streets. The Congress demands the immediate discussion of electoral reforms, universal secret and direct suffrage and proportional representation, abolition of the Upper House, abolition of great landowners' privileges and access to high official posts for all without distinction of birth, religion, or party.

SWEDEN.

Whilst the President of the Council rejected the election of the Socialist Branting as member of the Senate, 10,000 Socialists and workers demonstrated in Stockholm. Some demonstrators have been wounded.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN CANADA

The Prime Minister of Canada has intimated that woman suffrage will be established throughout Canada before there is a General Election. In five provinces, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia women now have the franchise. For federal elections women will also be enfranchised in Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. At the recent session of the Nova Scotia Legislature a proposal to give votes to women was rejected. Quebec has shown no disposition to establish equal suffrage. But Sir Robert Borden argues that if woman suffrage is desirable for five provinces it should be extended to all the provinces.

THE REFUSAL TO SAIL

At the London Section general meeting of the W.S.F. it was decided to send the following resolution to the Seamen's and Firemen's Union:—

"This meeting strongly protests against the action of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union Executive in instructing the members not to allow the Socialist delegates to sail for Petrograd; it urges the seamen and firemen to agitate to secure Government pensions for the dependants of men employed on merchant ships who are killed as a result of the war; and it further urges the Seamen's and Firemen's Union to use its power to secure the complete abolition of profiteering and the nationalisation of the shipping industry, with control by the workers concerned. A similar resolution has been passed by the Barking W.L.I.

FRANCHISE BILL (continued from page 785)

43,000 London voters who are tenants of furnished lodgings, but was opposed by Sir John Simon. Mr. H. P. Harris moved to preserve the service franchise for coachmen and others living in houses provided by their employers. In London 21,000 such men will be disfranchised if this Bill goes through, but again Sir George Cave refused the concession.

On June 19th.—Sir Frederick Banbury's amendment to leave out the Clauses giving the Parliamentary vote to women over 30, who are on the municipal register or are the wives of municipal voters, or have a University degree, was defeated by a majority of 330, 55 Members voting for the amendment and 385 against. Several Members pressed Mr. Whitley (the Chairman) to reconsider his ruling out of order, a proposal to obtain a verdict of the people on the subject by a Referendum, but he remained inflexible.

W.S.F. PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED AT 400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.

"Mothers' Pensions"

An account of what ought properly to be called Child Pensions, as administered in 27 out of 48 States of America. Price 1d.; post free, 1½d. 9d. per dozen.

"The Birthrate."

Notes and Views on the Report of the National Birthrate Commission, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Price 1d; post free, 1½d. 9d. per dozen.

"The Execution of an East London Boy"

including his letters to his Mother. ½d. each; post free, 1d.

"That Won't Suit My Lot" A Poplar Woman's Views on the Food Question by Mrs. Walker. Price 4 a penny.

Bound Volumes I and II of "Woman's Dreadnought" now ready, price 6/6 each. To be obtained at 400 Old Ford Road, London, E. Postage, 7d. extra.

Help the W.S.F. by buying all your books and pamphlets through our literature department. We can get any publication for you.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier.—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

WOMAN, experienced in sick visiting and care of children, Seeks Work; whole or part-time job.—Apply "Kathleen," this office.

FREE WORLD: Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self! Recitals by Alexander Hunter.

WANTED.—We urgently need a PIANO in our hall. A member has very kindly offered to put one in order for us if quite out of repair. Have any friends an old and useless piano they can present us with?—St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

Charge for advertising in this column, 1d. per word; four insertions for the price of three.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY
91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END
W. WOODS & SONS, *Family Bakers*

Printed by the Blackfriars Press Ltd., 8 & 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E.C.4 and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, at their Offices 400 Old Ford Rd. Bow, E. Printed by T.U. labour in all departments (48 hour week), on Trade Union Made Paper.